

FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

ALLIANCE NOTES.

—A farmer or workingman opposing the people's party is about as absurd as a negro opposing the fifteenth amendment.

—Senator George has been badly beaten at the county primaries in Mississippi. Bartlesville, the alliance candidate, even carrying George's home county.

—Lots o' people gettin' on, but the peoples party band wagon is a big one. Its "reach" goes around the world and puts the hind wheels along side the fores.—Great West.

—Excepting its use as money, gold is put to fewer uses than any metal we have. Its so-called intrinsic value is purely imaginary and dwindles into utter insignificance beside iron.—Exchange.

—The people's party will sweep everything before it this fall because, 1st, the people are aroused; 2d, they are right; 3d, God is with them, and 4th, because one with God is a majority.—Exchange.

—The people's party has "got there" in Maryland. Senator Gorman has withdrawn his candidate for governor. And the battle is now between the alliance and the g. o. p. l.—which is grand old party bars.—Great West.

—S. O. Daves, state secretary of the Texas alliance, writes that he sent out since the Fort Worth meeting thirty charters in one day. Better call an anti-sub-treasury meeting in every state if this is the effect.—Economist.

—Doctrines and principles, as preached by agitators, are laughed at by capitalists; there is but one thing to make them tremble—the thought that one day the workmen of the world will be united.—Labor Advocate.

—Hon. J. Mount Tillman, secretary of the executive board, has completed arrangements by which Indianapolis, Ind., has been agreed upon as the place of meeting of the next supreme council. Full details will be made public next week.—Economist.

—The man who will sell his vote or in any way be influenced by money to betray his fellowmen in these trying times, is no better than Judas Iscariot and deserves no better fate. Watch the bootleggers, and make of them outcasts on the face of the earth.—Non-conformist.

—It has been arranged that National Secretary J. H. Turner will organize the Delaware State Alliance, at Harrington, September 8. Washington and Wyoming will probably be organized as State Alliances before the convention of the grand council in November.—National Economist.

—Wall street says we don't want free coinage of silver. Mr. Harrison says the same. Mr. Cleveland says "me too." The republican party wants Mr. Harrison for president. The democratic party wants Mr. Cleveland. The laboring men will fight over the two, but Wall street is satisfied with either one.—National Reform.

—After the election in Kansas last fall the Louisville Courier-Journal printed the headline, "A Democratic Victory." Now the Courier-Journal is quite certain that the people's party is a republican machine originated to destroy the democratic party. It makes all the difference in the world, you see, where the people's party is getting in its work.—Nonconformist.

—Organized society says to the poor man: "work or die," but feels under no obligation to furnish work. If he tries to obey the mandate "work or die," and goes about the country looking for a job, he is called a "tramp," arrested and treated as a criminal. If he does not go, he is called a loafer, and treated as a criminal, "without visible means of support."—Pittsburgh Kansan.

—Our farmers should not fail to read the "Nebraska warehouse bill." It is a step in the direction of our sub-treasury plan, the difference being in the Nebraska scheme the farmers pay from eight to ten per cent., which goes into the pockets of the money changer, the sub-treasury plan reduces the interest to two per cent., which goes to the general government, and hence remains in the hands of the people. Farmers, it will pay you to post up on these matters.—Sherman County Farmer.

—The plutocratic twins have, by the advice and consent of Wall street, centered their fire on the first plank of the alliance platform—the sub-treasury—and by ridicule, misrepresentation and down-right lying, in fact every known style of tactics except argument, are seeking to prejudice the people against it. This proves two things: 1st, Wall street don't want it, therefore it is right; 2d, what is detrimental to the interest of Wall street is beneficial to the interest of the people, therefore they do want it. Stand by the sub-treasury.—Weekly Union.

—Nothing exacts from a nation such a fearful and imperative retribution as a practical and continued indifference to injustice. Whether it be in the field or workshop, in the north or in the south, in the churches or in the schools, in the haunts of pleasure or the marts of commerce, everywhere and at all times, it evokes a spirit and cultivates a habit that sooner or later will creep into all habitations firing with thoughts of revenge all hearts that feel it, until at last the foundations give way, the temple falls and all are buried in one common ruin. "Be just and fear not," are words we would do well to heed.—Pacific Union Alliance.

N. A. DUNNING.

Biographical Sketch of the Associate Editor of the National Economist—His Views on Vital Questions.



N. A. Dunning was born in Seio, Washtenaw county, Mich., October 10, 1844. Received a common school education, also attended Albion college for several terms. He was brought up on a farm. Taught school winters and worked on the farm summers until 20 years of age. Went into the mercantile business at that time as clerk. At the age of 23 was married to Miss Jennie E. Coatsworth, of Mason, Mich., and began business in that town as partner of John Coatsworth, his father-in-law. Continued as an active business man for over twenty years. After closing out business, moved to Detroit, Mich., for a short time and from there removed to Washington, D. C. Has been connected with the National Economist for nearly two years. He wrote the "Philosophy of Price" in 1887, "The History of the United States Dollar" in 1890 and has just completed a "History of the Farmers' Alliance and Agricultural Digest." Has no family but his wife, having buried an only child, a daughter of twelve years of age, eight years ago. He never contested for any office, except that of supervisor, which he held for several terms.

MR. DUNNING'S VIEWS.

George C. Ward, Esq., Kansas City, Mo.:

Dear Sir: You ask me for a brief statement of my views on the political situation. I believe in the ultimate triumph of truth and consequently look upon the present evolution going on among the people as sure indications of a rapid change in conditions. "Agitate and educate" has been the motto of all true reformers since reforms began. We have passed through the preparatory stage of agitation and have now arrived at the progressive period of education. The surprise which is now manifested at the progress of education among the people will be turned into absolute astonishment in the near future at their more rapid advancement. The agitation of the past fifteen years has laid the foundation deep and strong upon which is to be yet erected one of the grandest structures of economic educational reforms that the world has ever known. Believing these conditions to exist and having faith in humanity to the extent of believing that when educated upon right principles a majority will act in harmony with their teaching, I cannot reject the conviction that the reign of plutocracy and the oppression of the people must soon cease. There are today one million men and women who can stand before an audience and give positive and conclusive evidence of the righteousness and justice of the cause for which they are laboring. These million workers are reading, thinking, talking and discussing the rights and wrongs of the people continually. They are fearless, hopeful, honest and persistent in their efforts and are molding public opinion much more rapidly than most observers suspect. This cause of reform is made a family matter. It is talked of in the field and at the fireside. It is in their songs, their prayers and their Sabbath devotions. A similar condition has not existed among any people since the crusades of old. It can no more be checked than can the onward march of civilization, of which it has become a prime factor.

It is as sure to win the victory as day to follow night, and this, too, much sooner than the wisest even suspect. In view of this I think the present situation to be all the most earnest reformer could expect, and one that should make every honest worker, thank God, take fresh courage, and redouble his efforts.

Fraternally yours,

N. A. Dunning

—The alliance sub-treasury plan largely owes its popularity to the vindictive opposition which has been constantly waged against it by both old parties. The horrible principles which it was said to contain, and the direful results which were to follow its adoption, were held up to view in the most odious manner. In fact it was so extensively advertised that everybody was anxious to see it, with the natural result that the farmers should favor the plan, while the speculators and non-producers look upon it as the worst thing that could happen to them.—Alliance Tribune.

SUB-TREASURY PLAN.

A Broad and Comprehensive Plan For the Relief of the Producers—Weak and Fallacious Arguments Advanced By Its Opponents.

Col. S. F. Norton is out in his paper, the Chicago Sentinel, in quite a lengthy article in opposition to the sub-treasury plan, from which article it is the purpose of the writer to quote quite freely, in order to show the weakness and fallacy of the arguments advanced therein, and the ease with which these arguments may be utterly demolished. It may, however, be just to Mr. Norton, to state that his arguments are based upon an entire misconception of what the sub-treasury plan really is. Mr. Norton takes as his text the following editorial from President Polk's paper, The Progressive Farmer, of Raleigh, N. C.:

We have noticed with great pain that the discussion of the sub-treasury bill, now before congress, is being made the occasion and means of division among all farmers. The warmest friends of the pending bill do not hesitate to admit that it is not a perfect bill, and we know of no one in the alliance who will contend for this specific bill for one moment if a better bill can be brought forward. The end sought in the sub-treasury bill is more money. And to secure that end every alliance man is pledged; and for its procurement every alliance man, no matter what his opinion of the present bill may be, will fight and strive.

Mr. Norton then proceeds as follows: The above from the Raleigh (N. C.) Progressive Farmer (Col. L. L. Polk's paper) is worth more than passing notice. If it means exactly what it says—and will stand by it—there can be no difference between the Sentinel and advocates of the sub-treasury bill. If the end sought by the sub-treasury bill is simply "more money," then, of course, if any better method of accomplishing the purpose can be shown, the advocates of the bill will not persist in its support.

Right here, it may not be out of place to say, that those advocates of the sub-treasury plan who say that the end sought in such plan is "simply more money," do not themselves comprehend the true scope and aims of the plan. They have no conception of the height and depth, the power or vast possibilities of the sub-treasury plan. The end sought is not simply "more money." The plan aims at nothing short of the rescue of the American farmer from the clutches of speculating gamblers—bulls and bears—and the restoration to him of his prerogative of himself affixing a price upon the product of his labors. It also contemplates the issuance by the government of a sufficient volume of legal tender money to do the business of the country upon a cash basis, and the keeping such volume of money at all times at the service of the people at a low rate of interest, thus robbing money of its "power to oppress," which is its unrestricted power to draw interest.

Some there are (Col. W. A. Harris, of Leavenworth county, is quoted as one of their number,) who say that the sub-treasury plan is a "scheme to tax the many for the benefit of a few." Those who advance this absurd argument are in bondage to superstition and blinded by the sophistry of the money power. They forget that the people, through their congress, possess the sole prerogative "of coining (stamping) and issuing money, and regulating the value thereof," and that no money was ever yet taken from the people by taxation that was not first issued to them by the government.

This, however, is by the way.

Mr. Norton then concedes the constitutionality and righteousness of the plan in the following language:

That the government has a right to loan money on the sub-treasury plan there can not be the slightest doubt. For twenty-eight years it has been loaning money to national banks—on the sub-treasury plan.

Continuing, he says:

The sub-treasury plan is objectionable chiefly for its impracticability. It is not sanctioned by one single sound business principle—on the standpoint of the lender or from the standpoint of the borrower. Nor is it good, sound public policy.

In the first place it is a make-shift loan. It is simply a method of "shinning" over a present pinch. It gives temporary aid—only to leave the borrower in a much worse condition when his temporary loan expires.

Let us suppose for instance, that the farmers of the northwest borrow money on their wheat crop. They will all borrow at about the same time and for the same time. Their temporary indebtedness to the government will fall due at about the same time.

When is this wheat going to be disposed of? Most assuredly the buyers—for in the end it must be sold, which means that there must be a buyer—is not going to buy till he can buy cheapest. When will that be? Why, just about that time that the temporary loan falls due—and all fall due about the same time. The government can sell and will sell—else must itself become the purchaser—the security (wheat) at what it will bring, at whatever figure the buyer will pay! The buyer has been watching his opportunity. His opportunity is when the government must sell. The government has advanced eighty per cent. of the value of the wheat.

If it now sells at just enough to "get out whole" the farmer has lost—for he has sold his wheat at twenty per cent. discount. His temporary loan has cost him twenty per cent. The buyer—nine times in ten a speculator—is the man who makes the money, just the same as now. And the chances are a hundred to one that either the government or the farmer loses in the transaction. The government will either advance too much and will have to sell at a sacrifice; or it is too cautious and does not advance enough and the farmer loses.

Bosh! Mr. Norton here betrays his utter ignorance of the elementary principles underlying the sub-treasury plan. What put it into his head that this wheat must be sold by the government? By what process of reasoning does he arrive at the conclusion that the crop of wheat must be all sold at the same time and that time at the end of twelve months, when the loans fall due?

Does he not know that his italicized factor, the buyers, will be the consum-

ers of America; those who eat the farmers' wheat? And is he not aware that they must eat or die? Or does he suppose that the American consumers will starve for twelve months in order to buy when they can buy cheapest? In this mighty exhibition of parsimonious abstinence Dr. Tanner's record would be nowhere.

The whole argument is a string of flimsy fallacies. Under the benign operation of the sub-treasury plan, the farmers being in a position to hold their wheat can afford to play a waiting game and leave their wheat in the nation's care, subject to the inexorable demand of legitimate consumption. With eighty per cent. of the value of their products in their hands, costing them a nominal rate of interest, they would themselves receive the legitimate price for products, based upon demand for consumption and paid by consumers, instead of, as now, seeing the most of that price go to enrich a lot of speculating parasites. "The buyer (who) has been watching his opportunity," will get all-fired hungry before he gets a chance to embrace an opportunity that is very attractive.

Mr. Norton then says:

Another objection is that it involves the employment of a vast army of agents to attend to the details; the risk of taking care of the property—and the risk is great; the hazard of the fluctuations of the market; the risk of losses through dishonest and incompetent officials—whose name is legion; the perishable nature of all farm products—in spite of the contention of those advocates who assert that it is only upon "im perishable products."

The question of the employment of "a vast army of agents" is frivolous. The same "army of agents" is now employed and the farmer foots the bill. So far as taking care of property is concerned, speculators now take care of it, and amass fortunes in spite of the "risk." Then there are the same old chestnuts of "dishonest officials," etc., etc., none of which are worth noticing. Incidentally, however, Mr. Norton springs an issue upon which may be based the strongest argument that may be made for the sub-treasury plan. He speaks of the "hazard of the fluctuations of the market!" Under the workings of the sub-treasury plan there would be no fluctuations of the market.

With money to tide them over their pressing needs, and secure in the possession of the warehouse receipt for the equity in their products, the farmers, organized as they now are nationally, and by states and counties, could divide the sum total quantity of their products into monthly or weekly quotas, and affixing a uniform or equitable price for the year sell direct to actual consumers at such price, one-twelfth of their total products each month. No, indeed! There would be no "fluctuations in the market." Fluctuations are made by speculators and gamblers, and the sub-treasury plan would release the farmer from the thralldom of their sway.

Mr. Norton then says:

These are some of the objections—so far as the transactions are concerned between the government and the lender. Another and still greater objection is the sudden and uncontrollable inflation of the currency which would follow the harvesting of crops. An enormous amount of money would suddenly be put into circulation—only to be followed by just as sudden a contraction when the government realizes on its temporary loan, i. e. when the farmers pay their debts to the government.

At the lowest possible estimate one thousand million dollars would have to be put out by the government, say, during the months of August, September and October. This could remain out say, for six months, at the end of which time it must be returned to the government. It must be returned, say, during the months of February, March and April. And it does not matter whether the government sells it or the people sell it, the money which is loaned must be paid back. If there is not an "expansion" and "contraction" that will make the hair of any level-headed old greenbacker stand on end then we can't imagine what would. Talk about the evils caused by the power of the banks to "inflate" and "contract" the currency—and then compare them with that produced by the sub-treasury plan!

Here Mr. Norton leaves the consideration of the plan and proceeds to the discussion of a specific bill. I am glad that the people are called upon to discuss, not any specific bill, but the sub-treasury plan.

I am free to confess that I do not consider that the Vance and Pickler bills are wise or practicable in some of their provisions and details, nor do I believe that they are in accord with the Ocala demands or the Cincinnati platform, the financial plank of which reads thus:

A—The right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit, hence we demand the abolition of national banks, as banks of issue, and as a substitute for national bank notes demand that legal tender treasury notes be issued in sufficient volume to transact the business of the country on a cash basis without damage or special advantage to any class or calling; such notes to be legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, and such notes, when demanded by the people, shall be loaned to them at not more than two per cent. per annum upon non-perishable products, as indicated in the sub-treasury plan, and also upon real estate, with proper limitation upon quantity of land and amount of money.

The above plank certainly contemplates the issuance of a volume of money (notes) sufficiently large to do the business of the country upon a cash basis, "such notes" (not a supplemental issue) but the notes constituting such "sufficient volume," to be loaned to the people upon real estate and non-perishable products. Hence, I conclude that the provisions of the sub-treasury bill, which provides that such notes, when paid back to the government, shall be "cancelled and destroyed," is not in accord with the Ocala demands. Now Mr. Norton advocates government loans upon land, and we will suppose that the same sub-treasuries or United States banks that loan upon real estate, also loan upon United States

bonded warehouse certificates, or receipts for non-perishable products. Just as there will be real estate loans, continually being paid back to the government, so also will there be loans repaid that were made upon non-perishable products, such re-payments being made with precise regularity, not in one or two months, but day by day, week by week and month by month, as the regular quota of products is withdrawn from the warehouses for consumption, and varying very little in amount one week from another. Moreover, as wheat, corn and cotton are ready for storage in different quarters of the year (wheat—July, August and September; corn—October, November and December; cotton—about the same time as corn, but where they raise cotton they raise but little corn, and vice versa) there would be a constant outgoing and incoming, a steady borrowing and repaying of money continually going on. By the way, is there not an immense amount of money borrowed now from private bankers upon wheat, corn and cotton? Why is it that the opponents of the sub-treasury plan never say anything about the inflation caused by the withdrawal of the vast sums of money from the bank vaults necessary to buy the farmer's crops or make him "advances" (loans) upon such crops? That money is just as surely and securely hidden from circulation in the bank vaults of the country as would be the money in the government vaults under the sub-treasury plan. And under the present system the "inflation" is 100 per cent. instead of 80 per cent. of the value of the crops or "non-perishable products." Why should money amounting to 80 per cent. of the crop, advanced by government at two per cent. cause a "sudden and uncontrollable inflation of the currency" if money advanced by the bankers at from 8 to 13 per cent., amounting to 100 per cent. of the value of the crops, causes no inflation at all? "What fools we mortals be!"

Finally, does Mr. Norton believe that the plutocrats would be more likely to acquiesce in the government plan?

GEORGE C. WARD.

A PLAIN DUTY.

It is to Support the Reform Press—Your Friends, Not Your Enemies.

In this issue of the Tribune we explode another batch of subsidized press lies about alliance and people's party men and measures, and we again admonish the friends of the great cause of industrial emancipation of their duty to aid the struggling reform press and to refuse further "sustenance to the enemy."

The plutocracy has fully realized the importance of the press in molding public opinion and it has only been through their liberal support of such papers as would support their theories and pretensions that they have so long controlled the financial and industrial policy of this nation in their own interests. The reform press has been and must continue to be the chief instrument in educating the people to a full conception of their rights and the imperative necessity for a united and determined effort at the polls to regain them.

In this great work they labor at a tremendous disadvantage, having no "fat to fry" from protected manufacturers, national bankers, bloated bondholders, wealthy corporations or holders of fat offices, and being largely boycotted by city advertisers. Yet they must, of course, while reduced almost entirely to receipts from subscribers for their revenue meet the subscription prices of papers with whom the subscription receipts are but a bagatelle as compared with the receipts from other sources. The duty of the great plain people in whose behalf the reform press is waging such a heroic fight against such odds is clear and imperative; support should be at once and completely withdrawn from all papers which circulate such obvious and malicious falsehoods against alliance and measures as those herewith refuted and which refuse to respectfully discuss or give space for discussion of alliance measures. With papers of restricted circulation it is practicable and highly effective to refuse trade to any merchant who advertises in such papers. Every man who "sees the light" should also consider himself a special agent to extend the circulation of good reform papers, giving first preference to local papers where such are worthy. If the people can be induced to read and think, the success of our cause will be assured.—Iowa Tribune.

Commit This to Memory.

The following is an extract from the leading editorial of the Chicago Tribune July 29th, 1891:

"The two old parties will pursue their own course and the Farmers' Alliance will pursue its path until enough of its members recover from their mid-summer madness, when the organization will crumble to pieces, as the old oath-bound secret know-nothing party did. If it should appear that there was real danger of the 'peoples party' holding together long enough to do great mischief, the democrats would unite with the republicans, from whom they differ chiefly on the tariff and offices, and the two would fight against a common enemy. When that job was ended the two parties would separate and resume their dispute on the tariff as of old."

—The financial plank of the Maryland democratic convention is a straddle that should make Mr. Watterson green with envy.